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1. The Problems of Manchuria

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a. The Soviets

When the National Government announced the establishment of the Northeast Field Headquarters and sent more than one hundred thousand troops into Manchuria, the Soviets felt that their border was threatened. Consequently, they helped the Communists in their fight against the government troops. The Central Government could have prevented this if it had been sincerely interested in future peace.

b. The Communists

The Communists know that China is not yet ready for socialism. They can only ask the Kuomintang, therefore, to allow them to take part in government affairs, to form a united government. They will not ask much more.

Their situation in Manchuria is of a special character. In 1931 the Northeast People's Revolutionary Red Army was organized in the Liao Tung (121-40-) and the Sungari River areas. The leaders were Yang Ching-yu (楊靖宇), Chao Hsiang-chih (趙尚志), Li Yen-lu (李延祿), and Chou Pac-chung (周保中). This army fought against the Japanese until 1935 when they united with other parties to form the Northeast United Army. In 1941 Li Yun-ch'ang (李運昌) set up the three military areas of Hopei, Jehol, and Liaoning. In July 1945 Lin Piao (林彪), Li Cheng-ts'ao (呂正操), Chang Hsueh-shih (張學詩), Hsiao K'ue (蕭克) and Nan I (南一) united with the local leaders mentioned above to form the Northeast Democratic Army. At present, the Communists have more than 300,000 regular troops in Manchuria. Since these troops are supplied by the Soviets, they are fairly well equipped. They control more than 70,000 Korean volunteers, and a considerable number of former Kwantung Army troops.

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c. Kuomintang Mistakes in Manchuria

The Manchurians resented the Central Government's dividing Manchuria into nine provinces, and appointing Southerners to military and political posts. The Kuomintang made other mistakes in their tax, food collection, and conscription policies, the corruption of officials, the bad conduct of the Nationalist troops, and their air of being superior to the local people. Manchuria has been treated as a conquered territory. Manchurians now feel that "the Communists are no good, and the Kuomintang is just about as bad." Should the Kuomintang and Communists continue fighting, the Manchurian people will seek the only way out: a democratic revolution.

d. American Help

Many wise Kuomintang members understand that it was impossible earlier to get rid of a hundred thousand Communist troops, and that now it will be extremely difficult to destroy three million. Yet they keep on trying. Such confidence is caused by American support. If the Americans would stop giving military aid to the Kuomintang, the situation in Manchuria would not be as serious as it is today.

e. Solutions

a. There is only one solution to the problem: to let a man who represents the ideas of the Manchurian people form a democratic, united, all-party government. Then, have a fair general election. At the same time, both Communist and Kuomintang troops should withdraw from Manchuria.

b. If there were a non-party government in Manchuria, the Soviets would not feel that their borders are being threatened. They would then turn to the reconstruction of their own country.

c. The Kuomintang did not appoint any Mongolians to positions of importance in Manchuria, and the East Mongols therefore set up their Autonomous Government. They would, however, join in the formation of a united government.

d. The only excuse the Communists have for being in Manchuria is to fight one-party dictatorship. A united government under a non-party leader would satisfy their demands.

f. The New Leader

The head of this new government should be a man praised by all people of Manchuria, a non-party man who has not had much to do with the Kuomintang, one known to all parties, one of international renown. He should also be known to the Russians and Inner-Mongolians; and be a mediator between the Communists and the Kuomintang.

g. General Ma Chan-shan

The only man besides Chang Hsueh-liang possessing the above mentioned qualifications is Ma Chan-shan. He began fighting the Japanese in Heilungchiang Province in 1931, became internationally known as a hero, and is consequently admired by all Manchurians. He has never held membership in any party. After he was defeated in Manchuria in 1932 he escaped through Russia and Europe

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to China, met and became friendly with many Soviet leaders. He also was stationed in Mongolia for several years, and the Mongols have a very good impression of him. Although he himself left Heilungchiang Province in 1932, most of his troops hid in forest areas and continued to fight the Japanese. After 1937, Ma was in contact with these troops, and his agents travelled back and forth over Manchuria. He now has about 150,000 men in Kirin, Heilungchiang, Liaoning and Jehol Provinces. He is respected by the Kuomintang, and at the same time he is praised by the Communists as a non-party man and a national hero of China.

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